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VOLUME XXVI, No. 16

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1933

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VOLUME XXVI, No. 16

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WHOLE No. 706

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY THIRTY RECENT ADDITIONS

(Concluded from page 117)

(21) Cicero, *Pro Publio Quinctio*, *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino*, *Pro Quinto Roscio Comoedo*, *De Lege Agraria* I, II, III <i. e. the three speeches on the agrarian law proposed by Rullus>. By John Henry Freese, Formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge (1930). Pp. viii + 504.

Mr. Freese's volume, devoted to a translation of several speeches of Cicero, begins with a Prefatory Note (v-vi). This note presents a few remarks on the orations contained in the volume, a paragraph about the text presented in the volume, and a paragraph that is bibliographical in character.

To text and translation of each speech Mr. Freese prefixes an Introduction. At the end of each Introduction there is a short bibliography of works (texts, commentaries) relating to that speech. A large array of notes appears in the pages devoted to the text and the translation. These notes deal with the interpretation or the illustration of the text. There is an "Index to Proper Names" (501-504). The names that occur in *Pro Publio Quinctio*, *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino*, and *Pro Quinto Roscio Comoedo* are given in three groups, one for each speech. The names in the three speeches *De Lege Agraria* are given in one group. In each of these four groups of names the arrangement is alphabetical. It would have been far better to put all the names in one group, with alphabetical arrangement.

(22) Cicero, *Pro T. Annio Milone*, In L. Calpurnium Pisonem, *Pro M. Aemilio Scauro*, *Pro M. Fonteio*, *Pro C. Rabirio Postumo*, *Pro M. Marcello*, *Pro Q. Ligario*, *Pro Rege Deiotaro*. By N. H. Watts, Sometime Scholar of Peterhouse, Cambridge (1930). Pp. viii + 547.

Mr. Watts's volume of translations of certain speeches of Cicero, most of them well known, contains no general introduction. A Prefatory Note (v) deals, in fifteen lines, with the Latin text given in the volume, and with the manuscripts. To each speech a brief Introduction is prefixed. "The Index to Proper Names" occupies pages 543-547. In this Index all the names that occur in the volume appear in one group. The notes are few, and are all brief. There is no bibliographical material.

I give, with slight omissions, Mr. Watts's rendering of *Pro Marcello*, Chapter I (pages 423, 425):

To-day, Conscript Fathers, has brought to a close the long silence, due not to a feeling of fear, but to mingled feelings of grief and of diffidence, which I had observed during the recent troubles; to-day, too, marks the resumption of my old habit of expressing freely my desires and my opinions. For such humanity, such

exceptional, nay, unheard-of clemency, such invariable moderation exhibited by one who has attained supreme power, such incredible and almost superhuman loftiness of mind I find it impossible to pass by in silence. For in the restoration of Marcus Marcellus, Conscript Fathers, to yourselves and to the state I feel that my own voice and influence, as well as his, have been preserved and restored to yourselves and to the state. For it was a grief to me, Conscript Fathers, and a bitter mortification, that so great a man, though serving the same cause as myself, should have met with a fate so different; and I could not bring myself, nor indeed did I think that it was right for me, to pursue my old path of life, when he who had been the rival and the imitator of my pursuits and my toils had been separated from me, viewing⁹ him, as I did, in the light of a comrade and a companion.

Thus it is, Gaius Caesar, that you have not only thrown open to me the erstwhile pursuits of my life, from which I was debarred, but for all here you have, if I may so put it, raised aloft a standard which shall lead them to form fair hopes for the state at large. For it has been made clear . . . that you place the authority of this order and the dignity of the commonwealth before any resentments or suspicions of your own. Marcellus has indeed on this day, by reason both of the hearty concurrence of the Senate and of your own weighty and authoritative decision, received what is the crowning reward of all his past life, and from that you cannot fail to understand what distinction attaches to the bestowal of a benefit, when the acceptance of it brings such glory. And happy indeed is that man whose restitution has brought to all a joy scarce inferior to that which bids fair to accrue to himself. . . .

(23) Ovid's *Fasti*. By Sir George James Fraser, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge (1931). Pp. xxxii + 461.

The volume devoted to Ovid's *Fasti* contains <Table of> Contents (vii); Introduction (vii-xxxii); Text and Translation of the *Fasti* (2-383); Appendix (385-442); Index <of Names and Subjects> (443-461).

The topics treated in the Introduction are 1. The Life of Ovid (vii-xvii); 2. The *Fasti* (xvii-xxiv); 3. Editions of the *Fasti* (xxiv-xxvii); 4. Manuscripts of the *Fasti* (xxvii-xxxii).

On page xxvi occurs the following passage:

The text and translation of the present edition are reproduced from the large edition in five volumes¹⁰ which I published with a commentary and illustrations in 1929. . . . The notes have been specially written for this Loeb edition by my friend, Dr. W. H. D. Rouse, who has also selected and abridged from my commentary the passages which are printed as an Appendix to the present volume. . . .

Among the notes in the Appendix are notes on "The year of ten months" (385-387), Janus (387-389), Lupercalia (389-394), Regifugium (394-397), Mars

⁹How could a student of the Classics use a participle *here*? Mr. Watts has disregarded the form of the Latin. He has also, by the way, failed to translate two important words (*quasi quodam*).

¹⁰The reference is to a work entitled *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum Libri Sex*, The *Fasti* of Ovid, Edited with a Translation and Commentary, 5 volumes (London, Macmillan and Co., 1929). Volume 1 contains Text and Translation; Volumes 2-4 contain the commentary on Books 1-2, 3-4, 5-6 respectively; Volume 5 contains Indices, Illustrations, Plans.

(397-403: much of this note has to do with the Salii, priests of Mars), Nemi (403-405), Anna Perenna (405-407), The Parilia (411-413), The October Horse (413-417), The Mundus (417-420), The Argei (425-429), Cloaca (436-438), Vertumnus (438-440).

In Fasti 5.662-692 there is an account of a festival which, on May 15, was held in honor of Mercury. In 671-692 Ovid recounts how the tradesmen honor Mercury. The Latin text of these verses runs as follows (the punctuation is mine):

Te quicumque suas profitentur vendere merces
ture dato tribuas ut sibi lucra rogant.
Est aqua Mercurii portae vicina Capenae;
si iuvat expertis credere, numen habet.
Huc venit incinctus tunica mercator, et urna
purus suffita quam ferat haurit aquam.
Uda fit hinc laurus, lauro sparguntur ab uda
omnia quae dominos sunt habitura novos;
spargit et ipse suos lauro rorante capillos
et peragit solita fallere voce preces:
"Abiue praeteriti periuria temporis", inquit,
"abiue praeteritae perfida verba die.
Sive ego te feci testem falsove citavi
non audituri numina magna Iovis,
sive deum prudens alium divamve fefelli,
abstulerint celeres improba verba Noti,
et pateant veniente die periuria nobis,
nec curent superi si qua locutus ero.
Da modo lucra mihi, da facto gaudia lucro,
et fac ut emptori verba dedisse iuvet".
Talia Mercurius poscentem ridet ab alto,
se minor Ortygias surripuisse boves.

This passage Sir George James Fraser renders thus:

... All who make a business of selling their wares give thee incense and beg that thou wouldst grant them gain. There is a water of Mercury near the Capene Gate: if you care to take the word of those who have tried it, there is a divinity in the water. Hither comes the merchant with his tunic girt up, and, ceremonially pure, draws water in a fumigated jar to carry it away. With the water he wets a laurel bough, and with the wet bough he sprinkles all the goods that soon are to change owners; he sprinkles, too, his own hair with the dripping laurel and recites prayers in a voice accustomed to deceive. "Wash away the perjuries of past time," says he, "wash away my glozing words of the past day. Whether I have called thee to witness, or have falsely invoked the great divinity of Jupiter, in the expectation that he would not hear, or whether I have knowingly taken in vain the name of any other god or goddess, let the swift south winds carry away the wicked words, and may to-morrow open the door for me to fresh perjuries, and may the gods above not care if I shall utter any! Only grant me profits, grant me the joy of profit made, and see to it that I enjoy cheating the buyer!" At such prayers Mercury laughs from on high, remembering that he himself stole the Ortygian kine.

Years ago I worked out, for some lectures on Roman business life, a translation of this passage. I give here my version of 681-692:

... Then the merchant reels off his prayers with voice well tried in cheating. "Wash out!", he cries, "the perjuries of by-gone times, wash out the treacherous words of yesterday. Whether I made you, <Mercury>, witness to my promise, or swore falsely by the mighty majesty of Jove (who of course would not hear), or deliberately cheated some other god or goddess, let the swift winds carry off my reckless words. With the coming day let some new chance of perjury arise, and let not the gods care what I say. Only give me gain, and the joy that comes from gain, and the chance to

gloat over cheating some customer". Such is the merchant's prayer. As Mercury hears it in high heaven, he laughs, remembering that he himself stole Apollo's oxen.

(24) Plautus IV, The Little Carthaginian, Pseudolus, The Rope <= Poenulus, Pseudolus, Rudens> (the fourth of five volumes). By Paul Nixon, of Bowdoin College (1932). Pp. ix + 438.

For notices of Volumes 1-3 of Professor Nixon's translation of Plautus see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 12.57-58, 18.161-162. In Volume 4, besides the text and translation of three plays, we find a note (v-vi) on The Greek Originals and Dates of the Plays in the Fourth Volume; a note, of only six lines, on Some Annotated Editions of Plays in the Fourth Volume (vii); and an Index of Proper Names <in the Fourth Volume> (437-438). On page vii reference is made to an edition of the Rudens by <Edward A.> Sonnenschein, dated in 1901, but nothing is said to show that Sonnenschein edited the Rudens twice, in an Editio Maior (1891) and an Editio Minor (1901). Both editions were published at Oxford (at the Clarendon Press). The first names of the authors whose editions are named on page vii are never given.

Rudens 592-613 runs as follows (in the text given by Professor Nixon. I have, however, set capital initials in many places where Professor Nixon has a small initial letter):

Miris modis di ludos faciunt hominibus:
ne dormientis quidem sinunt quiescere.
Velut ego hac nocte quae praecessit proxima
mirum atque inscitum somniavi somnium.
Ad hirundinum nidum visa est simia
ascensionem ut faceret admolirier
neque eas eripere quibat inde. Postibi
videtur ad me simia adgredierier,
rogare scalas ut darem utendas sibi.
Ego ad hoc exemplum simiae respondeo,
natas ex Philomela atque ex Progne esse hirundines.
Ago cum illa, ne quid noceat meis popularibus.
Atque illa animo iam fieri ferocior;
videtur ultro mihi malum minitarier.
In ius vocat med. Ibi ego nescio quo modo
iratus videor mediam arripere simiam;
concludo in vincla bestiam nequissimam.
Nunc quam ad rem dicam hoc attinere somnium,
numquam hodie quivi ad coniecturam evadere.
Sed quid hic in Veneris fano meae vicinae
clamoris oritur? Animus miratur meus.

Professor Nixon renders this passage as follows:

The gods do produce strange plays for us humans¹¹. They don't even let us sleep in peace. Take my own case—just this past night I dreamed a strange, uncanny dream. I seemed to see a monkey trying to climb up to some swallows' nest. But she couldn't pull them out. After a while the monkey approached me, so it seemed, and asked for the loan of a ladder. I answered her to the effect that swallows were descendants of Philomela and Progne; I pleaded with her not to injure my compatriots. At that her insolence increased; she seemed to grow aggressive and threatened to thrash me. She summoned me to court. Then somehow or other, growing¹² angry, it seemed I grabbed the monkey around the middle and put the vile beast in chains. Now what I'm to take this dream to mean, I haven't been able to divine all day. (the noise of a

¹¹I do not believe that "humans" (') represents *hominibus* of the text.

¹²Here is another strange, unhappy participle. See note 9, above.

*scuffle in the temple*¹³). But what's that racket right over there in the temple of Venus? Astonishing!

(25) St. Augustine, *Select Letters* <62 in Number>. By James Houston Baxter, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of St. Andrews (1930). Pp. lii + 535.

In Professor Baxter's volume, St. Augustine, *Select Letters*, one finds Preface (v-vii); <Table of> Contents (ix-xi); Introduction (xiii-liv); Text and Translation of *Select Letters* (2-527); Index <of Names and Subjects> (528-535).

The opening paragraph of the Preface (v) runs as follows:

Compared with his *Confessions*, St. Augustine's *Letters* have received but slight attention, even from many of his professed biographers, and for each edition of the one there have appeared, at a moderate estimate, several hundred editions, translations or studies of the other. Yet a man's autobiography gives only his own account and interpretation of himself and his deeds; his letters, if they are genuine and spontaneous, show him directly, without the distortion of his own explanations and self-justifications. The present selection, barely a quarter of Augustine's extant correspondence, contains, it is hoped, enough to exhibit the human interest of the man and his environment; excluding almost all the lengthier letters, often of the bulk of minor treatises, and those solely or chiefly concerned with questions of doctrine, I have sought to present those which best reveal him in contact with the varied and busy life of his time.

In the Introduction Professor Baxter discusses (xiii-xix) economic conditions in Africa, conditions which led on the one hand to the growth of monasticism, and on the other to the development of great estates, which were in fact independent units, each of which had (xvi) "its own machinery, its own church or churches, and its own bishop..." On pages xxii-xxiv he discusses the controversy between St. Augustine and Pelagius, in the course of which, he says (xxii), "were evolved those theories of Grace, Predestination, and Freewill specifically designated Augustinianism..."

Other points discussed by Professor Baxter are conditions at Carthage and in North Africa generally, the effort of Christianity to repress and eradicate (xxviii) "official Roman paganism, the ally and the expression of Roman imperialism...", letter-writing as practised by Christians of the fourth and the fifth centuries, and the style of St. Augustine's letters. Finally, in the Introduction we have Chronology (xliii), and a Bibliography (xlii-liv).

The Bibliography is far more detailed than that of most of the volumes noticed in this article.

(26) *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, III (the concluding volume). By David Magie <Formerly Professor in Princeton University> (1932). Pp. x + 529.

Volume I of Dr. Magie's translation of *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae* I noticed in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 15.215, 16.193. Volume 2 I noticed in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 19.168.

The contents of Volume 3 are as follows: <Table of> Contents (v); Additions to the Bibliography (1919-

1930) (vii-x); Text and Translation (2-451); Index of Names (453-529).

The pieces translated are as follows: The Two Valerians (2-15); The Two Gallieni (16-63); The Thirty Pretenders (64-151); The Deified Claudius (152-191); The Deified Aurelian (192-203); Tacitus (294-333); Probus (334-385); Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus and Bonosus (386-415); Carus, Carinus and Numerian (416-451).

The Index of Names covers all three volumes of this translation. This is a very detailed piece of work, which entailed enormous labor. This makes it all the more regrettable that the references are made on what, I believe, is a wrong principle. The very first entry runs thus: "Alaba: mother of Maximinus M 1, 6". A <List of> Abbreviations prefixed to the Index explains that "M" here = the *Vita Maximini*. The student will ask at once, In which of the three volumes of this translation shall I find the *Vita Maximini*? It would have been easy, and very helpful, to add, after each abbreviation in the list of abbreviations, I, II, or III in round brackets, to indicate the volume to which the student must turn. This Index will prove exasperating to students.

As a sample of the translation I give Dr. Magie's rendering of the first part of Chapter XXII of *The Thirty Pretenders* (119, 121):

It is the wont of the people of Egypt that like madmen and fools they are led by the most trivial matters to become highly dangerous to the commonwealth; for merely because a greeting was omitted, or a place in the baths refused, or meat and vegetables withheld, or on account of the boots of slaves or some other such things, they have broken out into riots, even to the point of becoming highly dangerous to the state, so that troops have been armed to quell them. With their wonted madness, accordingly, on a certain occasion, when the slave of the chief magistrate then governing Alexandria had been killed by a soldier for asserting that his sandals were better than the soldier's, a mob gathered together, and, coming to the house of the general Aemilianus, it assailed him with all the implements and the frenzy usual in riots; he was pelted with stones and attacked with swords, and no kind of weapon used in a riot was lacking. And so Aemilianus was constrained to assume the imperial power, knowing well that he would have to die in any event....

(27) Seneca, *Moral Essays* II (the second of three volumes). By John W. Basore, <Formerly Professor in Princeton University> (1932). Pp. xi + 496.

Volume I of Dr. Basore's translation of Seneca, *Moral Essays*, was noticed in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 22.164.

In the Introduction to Volume II (vii-xi) we find a short discussion of each of the pieces included in this volume. Those pieces are *De Consolatione ad Marciam*; *De Vita Beata*; *De Otio*; *De Tranquillitate Animi*; *De Brevitate Vitae*; *De Consolatione ad Polybium*; *De Consolatione ad Helviam*. There is, finally, an Index of Names (41-496).

I give Dr. Basore's translation of a part of *De Brevitate Vitae*, Chapter 13 (pages 327, 329, 331).

It would be tedious to mention all the different men who have spent the whole of their life over chess or ball or the practice of baking their bodies in the sun. They

¹³Here we have no syntax, and so no sense.

are not unoccupied whose pleasures are made a busy occupation¹⁴. For instance, no one will have any doubt that those are laborious triflers who spend their time on useless literary problems, of whom even among the Romans there is now a great number. It was once a foible confined to the Greeks to inquire into what number of rowers Ulysses had, whether the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* was written first, whether moreover they belong to the same author, and various other matters of this stamp, which, if you keep them to yourself, in no way pleasure your secret soul, and, if you publish them, make you seem more of a bore than a scholar. But now this vain passion for learning useless things has assailed the Romans also. In the last few days I heard someone telling who was the first Roman general to do this or that; Duilius was the first who won a naval battle, Curius Dentatus was the first who had elephants led in his triumph. Still, these matters, even if they add nothing to real glory, are nevertheless concerned with signal services to the state; there will be no profit in such knowledge, nevertheless it wins our attention by reason of the attractiveness of an empty subject. We may excuse also those who inquire into this—who first induced the Romans to go on board ship. It was Claudius, and this was the very reason he was surnamed *Caudex*, because among the ancients a structure formed by joining together several boards was called a *caudex*, whence also the Tables of the Law are called *codices*, and, in the ancient fashion, boats that carry provisions up the Tiber are even to-day called *codicariae*. Doubtless this too may have some point—the fact that Valerius Corvinus was the first to conquer Messana, and was the first of the family of the Valerii to bear the surname Messana because he had transferred the name of the conquered city to himself, and was later called Messala after the gradual corruption of the name in the popular speech. Perhaps you will permit someone to be interested also in this—the fact that Lucius Sulla was the first to exhibit loosed lions in the Circus, though at other times they were exhibited in chains, and that javelin-throwers were sent by King Bocchus to despatch them? And, doubtless, this too may find some excuse—but does it serve any useful purpose to know that Pompey was the first to exhibit the slaughter of eighteen elephants in the Circus, pitting criminals against them in a mimic battle? . . .

This passage is interesting both in itself, and for the train of thought it suggests. On page x Dr. Basore writes: " . . . In the spirited indictment of scholarly research as a misuse of leisure it is tempting to see a covert satire upon the antiquarian interests of the eccentric Claudius. . . "

With Seneca's words we may compare something that Juvenal says in Satire 7. In that satire, it will be remembered, Juvenal begins by saying that, the gods be thanked, there is hope once more for literature. Then he uses most of the satire to picture the sad state of men of letters. Particularly sad is the fact that the pecuniary rewards of a life devoted to letters are so small. Yet the demands made upon men of letters are heavy indeed. In verses 229-236, apostrophizing the parents who pay so little to the teacher, Juvenal cries:

Sed vos saevias imponite leges,
ut praeceptori verborum regula constet,
ut legat historias, auctores noverit omnes
tamquam ungues digitosque suos, ut forte rogatus,
dum petit aut thermas aut Phoebi balnea, dicat
nutricem Anchisae, nomen patriamque novercae
Anchemoli, dicat quot Aestes vixerit annis,
quot Siculi Phrygibus vini donaverit urnas.

¹⁴The text here is *Non sunt otiosi quorum voluptates multum negotii habent*.

(28) Tacitus, The Histories, Books IV-V. By Clifford H. Moore; The Annals, Books I-III. By John Jackson (1931). Pp. v + 643.

Besides the text and the translation this volume contains only a <Table of> Contents (v), a brief Introduction, by Professor Jackson, to the Annals (227-241), and three maps, two of which illustrate the Histories, one the Annals. For a notice of Professor Moore's translation of Tacitus, *Historiae I-II*, see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 19.184-185.

In his Introduction Professor Jackson deals very briefly with the life of Tacitus (227-230). He then discusses Tacitus's writings, especially the *Historiae* and the *Annales* (230-237). His account of the text of *Annales* 1-2 he presents is given in twelve lines. On pages 240-241 he gives a *Stemma* of the Julio-Claudian Family.

On pages 236-237 Professor Jackson writes in striking fashion about Tacitus's attitude toward his material.

... Tacitus had not, and could not have, a charity that thinks no evil: Seneca, in words prophetic of his style, spoke of *abruptae sententiae et supiciosae <sic>*, in quibus plus intelligendum est quam audiendum; and never, perhaps, has that poisoned weapon been used more ruthlessly. Yet, of conscious disingenuity a dispassionate reader finds no trace: the man, simply, has overpowered the historian. To write *sine ira et studio* even of the earlier principate, was a rash vow to be made by one who had passed his childhood under Nero and the flower of his manhood under Domitian. Nor, in any case, is it given to many historians—to none, perhaps, of the greatest—to comply with the precept of Lucian (repeated almost to the letter by Ranke):—*Τὸ ἀνυπαφύκτως ἔργον ἐν, ὡς ἐκράχθη εἰπεῖν*. For not the most stubborn of facts can pass through the brain of a man of genius, and issue such as they entered.—One charge, it is noticeable, Napoleon does not make: it was reserved for Mommsen to style Tacitus "the most un military of historians"—a verdict to which Furneaux could only object that it was unjust to Livy. Both, it is true enough, lack the martial touch, and betray all too clearly that *βυβλιαχὴ ἔξ* which Polybius abhorred. Yet even here they have one merit, generally withheld from the authentic military historian, that, when they describe a battle, the reader is somehow conscious that a battle is being described. *Mox infensus praetorianis "Vos" inquit, "nisi vincitis, pagani, quis alius imperator, quae castra alia excipiet?" Illic signa armaque vestra sunt, et mors victis: nam ignominiam consumpsistis.* Vndique clamor, et orientem solem (ita in Syria mos est) lertiani salutare—the hues are not the wear, but it is possible to find them striking.

In *Annales* 1.64, ad initium, the following passage occurs as part of the account of the attack by the Germans, under Arminius, on the Romans, led by Caecina. The Romans had begun to fortify a camp. I give this passage in Professor Jackson's text:

Barbari perfringere stationes seque inferre munitibus nisi lacesunt, circumgrediuntur, occursant: miscetur operantium bellantiumque clamor. Et cuncta pariter Romanis adversa: locus uligine profunda; idem ad gradum instabilis, procedentibus lubricus; corpora gravia loricis; neque librare pila inter undas poterant. Contra Cheruscis sueta apud paludes proelia, procera membra, hastae ingentes ad vulnera facienda, quamvis procul. Nox demum inclinantis iam legiones adversae pugnae exemit. Germani, ob prospera indefessi, ne tum quidem sumpta quiete, quantum aquarum circum surgentibus iugis oritur vertere in subiecta, mersaque

humo et obruto quod effectum operis, duplicatus militi labor....

Professor Jackson translates this as follows:

Skirmishing, enveloping, charging, the barbarians struggled to break the line of outposts and force their way to the working parties. Labourers and combatants mingled their cries. Everything alike was to the disadvantage of the Romans—the ground, deep in slime and ooze, too unstable for standing fast and too slippery for advancing—the weight of armour on their backs—their inability amid the water to balance the pilum for a throw. The Cherusci, on the other hand, were habituated to marsh-fighting, long of limb, and armed with huge lances to wound from a distance. In fact, the legions were already wavering when night at last released them from the unequal struggle.

Success had made the Germans indefatigable. Even now they took no rest, but proceeded to divert all streams, springing from the surrounding hills, into the plain below, flooding the ground, submerging the little work accomplished, and doubling the task of the soldiery....

I present next the version of this passage given by Church and Brodribb¹⁵:

The barbarians attempted to break through the outposts and to throw themselves on the engineering parties, which they harassed, pacing round them and continually charging them. There was a confused din from the men at work and the combatants. Everything alike was unfavourable to the Romans, the place with its deep swamps, insecure to the foot and slippery as one advanced, limbs burdened with coats of mail, and the impossibility of aiming their javelins amid the water. The Cherusci, on the other hand, were familiar with fighting in fens; they had huge frames, and lances long enough to inflict wounds even at a distance. Night at last released the legions, which were now wavering, from a disastrous engagement. The Germans whom success rendered unwearied, without even then taking any rest, turned all the streams which rose from the slopes of the surrounding hills into the lands beneath. The ground being thus flooded and the completed portion of our works submerged, the soldiers' labour was doubled.

(29) Tertullian, *Apology*, De Spectaculis. By T. R. Glover; Minucius Felix. By Gerald H. Rendall. Based on the Unfinished Version by W. C. A. Kerr (1931). Pp. xxvii + 446.

In a Preface (unsigned: v), Mr. Glover explains the importance of the works he has here translated. In his Introduction (ix-xix) he discusses Tertullian's temperament, the spirit of his work, and the conditions of life and literature in North Africa. On page xx he discusses the relation of Minucius Felix and Tertullian to each other. He then (xxi-xxvii) discusses *The Apology* of Tertullian (text, language, editions, and translations). I may remark here that Mr. Glover's way of writing seems to me unfortunate. He combines too many things on a page, and is too discursive. Simpler writing would have been far more helpful.

What Professor Glover has to say about his own translation and about translation in general seems to me well worth quoting (xxv-xxvii):

Lastly, I have to make my own apology in sending out Tertullian's. I have long felt that a translation

should reproduce on the mind of the new reader, in the new language, as far as may be, the emotional, intellectual and spiritual effect (perhaps reaction would be the more precise word) that the original produced, and was intended to produce, on the readers in the original speech. Hence the distressing impossibility of rendering Virgil or Horace, or (they say) Heine. Certain authors, like Homer and Cervantes, seem able to stand immense loss or reduction in translation. But I think my ideal will be accepted as the right one—an extremely exacting one. But Latin is not English, and I have had, in years of reading and teaching, too abundant evidence that a literal translation produces nothing of the effect we agree to be desirable. The structure of a Latin sentence is alien to English since Dryden, or since Bunyan. We put down our sentences in a different way and build our paragraphs on another plan. Again and again I find a literal translation of a sentence or paragraph (it may be the same thing) of Tertullian produces no effect on the mind beyond sheer paralysis; it means nothing. But Tertullian did mean something. So I have boldly abandoned his *qui's* and *quoniam's* and *ut's*, and tried to make an English thing of his *Apology*. The scholar who may consult this work for a particular passage can make his own way through the Latin construction; and I hope I may modestly say that I could sometimes have done so too. But I am translating not a passage but a book, and I aim at giving the reader who wishes to read the whole, as opposed to a paragraph, the thread and fibre and texture of the whole, and something of the spirit of it. Tertullian, using a convention as old as Isocrates, writes his book as if it were a speech. In places it is highly rhetorical. A literal translation would be hopelessly unrhthorical. So I have broken up his sentences, and made my own, and tried to give the whole with as much as I can recapture of his oratory or rhetoric or whatever it is (in American it might be called "punch"), with the full force possible—biting, stinging, gripping stuff,—turning the reader into a listener and arguing at him. The grammar is different, the structure different, I know—but I hope there is something of the same passion, and for the same cause.

Mr. Rendall presents an Introduction (304-313) to his translation of Minucius Felix. This is a real discussion of Minucius's work; part of that discussion is an outline of the work (308-312). The account of the Latin text presented occupies fifteen lines (313).

No bibliography appears in either part of this volume. The Index of Proper Names occupies pages 439-445.

(30) Vitruvius on Architecture (the first of two volumes). By Frank Granger, Professor in University College, Nottingham (1931). Pp. xxxvi + 317.

In the first volume of Professor Granger's translation of Vitruvius we find Preface (v-vi); <Table of> Contents (vii-viii); Introduction (ix-xxxvi); Text and Translation of Vitruvius, Books 1-5 (2-317); Plates A-H.

In the Introduction Professor Granger discusses Vitruvius and the Architecture of the West (ix-xvi); The History of the Manuscripts of Vitruvius (xvi-xxi); The Earliest Printed Editions of Vitruvius, and their MS. Authority (xxi-xxiv); The Scholia in the MSS. of Vitruvius (xxv-xxvii); The Illustrations of the MSS. (xxvii-xxviii); The Language of Vitruvius (xxviii-xxx); Bibliography (xxxii-xxxvi: Manuscripts [xxxii-xxxiii], Editions [xxxiii], Translations [xxxiii-xxxiv], The Chief Contributions to the Study of Vitruvius [xxxiv-xxxvi]).

In his Bibliography Professor Granger seldom, if

¹⁵Annals of Tacitus, Translated into English, With Notes and Maps, by Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb (London, Macmillan and Co. My copy, dated in 1891, is a reprint of a work published in 1869).

ever, gives the first names of authors, and he seldom, if ever, gives the names of publishers. No emphasis whatever is laid upon the translation of Vitruvius by the late Professor Morris H. Morgan (it is mentioned: see note 21, below). Mention is made, in one line, of "Morgan, *Addresses and Essays*, New York, 1909", but nothing is said to indicate why the book is named¹⁶. No mention is made of Professor Capps's paper on Vitruvius¹⁷. Such omissions are the more irritating because in a note to page xxxiv Mr. Granger remarks, "Much that has been written on Vitruvius may safely be neglected"¹⁸. The only work on the Greek theater that Mr. Granger mentions is "Dörpfeld: *Das griech. Theater*, Athens, 1896"¹⁹!! In the list of "Books of General Reference" (xxxvi) mention is made of several books on the topography of ancient Rome (one book by Lanciani, a book by Richter [1901], and the *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, by Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas B. Ashby [1929]). Much more might have been mentioned. Certainly Samuel Ball Platner's book, *The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*² (Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1911) should have been named. Again, in the list of "Books of General Reference" we find this item: "Schanz: *Römische Literatur*, Munich, 1899, large 8vo.; 2nd ed., 1911". In every reference to Schanz a scholar ought to name with meticulous care the particular part of Schanz's work he has in mind. Some parts of Schanz have appeared in a third or even in a fourth edition. I assume that Mr. Granger had in mind the part of Schanz which contained the account of Vitruvius; if so, he should have referred to "Zweiter Teil, Erste Hälfte", third edition (1911), pages 536-547.

The Plates in Mr. Granger's book are very useful.

I give the text of part Vitruvius 5.6.1-3 (I reproduce Mr. Granger's punctuation, often, to my mind, very bad, and a distinct hindrance to the interpretation of the text):

Ipsius autem theatri conformatio sic est facienda, uti, quam magna futura est perimetros imi, centro medio conlocato circumagatur linea rutundationis, in eaque quattuor scribantur trigona paribus lateribus; intervallis extremam lineam circinationis, tangant, quibus etiam in duodecim signorum caelestium astrologia²⁰ ex musica convenientia astrorum ratiocinantur. Ex his trigonis cuius latus fuerit proximum scaenae, ea regione, qua praecidit curvaturam circinationis, ibi finiatur scaenae frons, et ab eo loco per centrum parallelos linea ducatur, quae disiungat proscaenii pulpitum et orchestrae regionem. Ita latius factum fuerit pulpitum quam Graecorum, quod omnes artifices in scaena dant

¹⁶This work, which I discussed in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 4-41-42, contains three papers on Vitruvius: The Language of Vitruvius (159-214); Notes on Vitruvius (214-232); [1] On the Text, 214-222, [2] On the Subject-Matter, 222-225, [3] On the Date of Vitruvius, 225-230, [4] Templum and Aedes, 230-232; The Preface of Vitruvius (233-272). This book is, unfortunately, out of print.

¹⁷Edward Capps, *Vitruvius and the Greek Stage*, Studies in Classical Philology, The University of Chicago, 1 (1893), 3-23 (this volume was part of a short-lived series which preceded Classical Philology).

¹⁸In *Philologische Wochenschrift* 52.1523, in a review of Mr. Granger's volume (see the final paragraph of the text, below), Professor Felix Krohn also condemns the shortcomings of Mr. Granger's bibliographical material. Professor Krohn names some works that, he says, Mr. Granger should have mentioned, "denn diese Schriften gehören nicht, wie die im folgenden kurz zu beruhende Abhandlung, in das Gebiet dessen, was G. in einer Anmerkung zur Bibliographie mit den fast humoristisch klingenden trockenen Worten abtut: Much that has been written on Vitruvius may safely be neglected".

¹⁹The Teubner text here is <astrologia> astrologi....

operam, in orchestra autem senatorum sunt sedibus loca designata. Et eius pulpiti altitudo sit ne plus pedum quinque, uti, qui in orchestra sederint spectare possint omnium agentium gestus. Cunei spectaculorum in theatro ita dividantur, uti anguli trigonorum, qui currunt circum curvaturam circinationis, dirigant ascensus scalasque inter cuneos ad primam praecinctionem; supra autem alternis itineribus superiores cunei medii dirigantur. Hi autem, qui sunt in imo et dirigunt scalaria, erunt numero VII; reliqui quinque scaenae designabunt compositionem: et unus medius contra se valvas regias habere debet, et qui erunt dextra sinistra, hospitaliorum designabunt compositionem, extremi duo spectabunt itinera versurarum. Gradus spectaculorum, ubi subsellia componantur, gradus ne minus alti sint palmopede, <ne plus pedem> et digito sex²⁰; latitudines eorum ne plus pedes duo semis, ne minus pedes duo constituantur....

This passage Professor Granger translates as follows (again I reproduce Mr. Granger's punctuation):

1. The plan of the theatre is to be thus arranged: that the centre is to be taken, of the dimension allotted to the orchestra at the ground level. The circumference is to be drawn; and in it four equilateral triangles are to be described touching the circumference at intervals (just as in the case of the twelve celestial signs, astronomers calculate from the musical division of the constellations). Of these triangles the side of that which is nearest the scene, will determine the front of the scene, in the part where it cuts the curve of the circle. Through the centre of the circle a parallel line is drawn which is to divide the platform of the proscenium from the orchestra. 2. Thus the stage will be made wider than that of the Greeks because all the actors play their parts on the stage, whereas the orchestra is allotted to the seats of the senators. The height of the stage is not to be more than 5 feet, so that those who are seated in the orchestra can see the gestures of all the actors. The blocks of seats in the theatre are so to be divided that the angles of the triangles which run round the curve of the circle indicate the ascents and the steps between the blocks to the first circular passage. Above, the upper blocks of seats are arranged with alternate staircases facing the middle of the lower blocks. 3. The angles which are on the ground floor of the theatre and determine the staircases will be 7 in number. The remaining 5 will indicate the arrangement of the stage. One in the middle should have the palace doors opposite to it. Those which are to the right and left, will indicate the apartments provided for strangers. The furthest two will regard the direction of the revolving scenes. As to the rows of the auditorium where the seats are placed, the seats are not to be lower than 16 inches nor more than 18. The width is not to be more than 2½ feet nor less than 2 feet....

Professor Morgan²¹ rendered this passage as follows:

1. The plan of the theatre itself is to be constructed as follows. Having fixed upon the principal centre, draw a line of circumference equivalent to what is to be the perimeter at the bottom, and in it inscribe four equilateral triangles, at equal distances apart and touching the boundary line of the circle, as the astrologers do in a figure of the twelve signs of the zodiac, when they are making computations from the musical harmony of the stars. Taking that one of these triangles whose side is nearest to the scaena, let the front of the scaena be determined by the line where that side

²⁰I should certainly read here *digitos sex*; so Krohn reads, in the Teubner text, so, too, Professor Morgan read.

²¹Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, Translated by Morris Hickey Morgan (Harvard University Press, 1914. Pp. xiii + 321). This volume, which was published after Professor Morgan's death, under the direction of Professor Albert A. Howard, was reviewed in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 9.116-118, by Professor M. N. Wetmore.

cuts off a segment of the circle (A-B)²², and draw, through the centre, a parallel line (C-D) set off from that position, to separate the platform of the stage from the space of the orchestra.

2. The platform has to be made deeper than that of the Greeks, because all our artists perform on the stage, while the orchestra contains the places reserved for the seats of senators. The height of this platform must be not more than five feet, in order that those who sit in the orchestra may be able to see the performances of all the actors. The sections (cunei) for spectators in the theatre should be so divided, that the angles of the triangles which run about the circumference of the circle may give the direction for the flights of steps between the sections, as far as up to the first curved cross-aisle. Above this, the upper sections are to be laid out, midway between (the lower sections), with alternating passage-ways.

3. The angles at the bottom, which give the directions for the flights of steps, will be seven in number (C, E, F, G, H, I, D); the other five angles will determine the arrangement of the scene: thus, the angle in the middle ought to have the "royal door" (K) opposite to it; the angles to the right and left (L, M) will designate the position of the doors for guest chambers; and the two outermost angles (A, B) will point to the passages in the wings. The steps for the spectators' places, where the seats are arranged, should be not less than a foot and a palm in height, nor more than a foot and six fingers; their depth should be fixed at not more than two and a half feet, nor less than two feet.

There can be no question which of these translations is the better, both in fidelity to the original and in fidelity to good English usage. Further, Professor Morgan's translation was clarified by the Plan and the vertical section (see note 22, above).

In *Philologische Wochenschrift* 52.1520-1532 (December 24, 1932) there is a very elaborate, and very adverse, review of Mr. Granger's volume. The review was written by Professor Felix Krohn, author of the Teubner text of Vitruvius (1912). Professor Krohn criticizes sharply the text given by Mr. Granger. He concludes thus:

...Eine neue Aufgabe <Vitruvius> muss auf dem Standpunkt stehen, dass der von Caesar anerkannte und von Augustus mit hohen Ehren bedachte Baumeister trotz aller Hss ein klar denkender Kopf war.

CHARLES KNAPP

ON AN IGNOMINIOUS FORM OF EXECUTION

Part of an Associated Press dispatch dated January 2, 1932, reads as follows:

Caltanissetta, Italy, Jan. 2—(AP)—A firing squad of 40 carried out the first execution in Italy, for common crime, in 41 years at dawn today when Diego Mitnemi was shot in the back for killing a 12-year-old youth.

The execution of Mitnemi took place upon the hill-side near where the murder was committed. He was shot in the back as a sign of the ignominy of the offense.

A few months later newspapers carried an account of the inflicting of a similar disgraceful death upon an Italian criminal. I quote the first paragraph:

²²On page 147, opposite the translation, one finds a plan of a Roman theater, according to Vitruvius, and a vertical section of such a theater. The illustrations and original designs in this volume were prepared under the direction of Professor Herbert Langford Warren, of Harvard University.

Rome, June 16—(AP)—Angelo Sbardellotto was sentenced today to death by shooting in the back for participation in a plot to kill Premier Mussolini.

I do not recall having seen any other records of such a method of humiliating and dishonoring a man condemned to die. The root of the idea is ancient, however, for the many passages in Latin which praise soldiers with scars of wounds in front convey an implication of the ignominy of wounds in the back.

In 495 B. C., when the plebeians were greatly embittered by harsh treatment and were manifesting their hostility to the patricians, an old man, unkempt, ragged, and emaciated, presented himself in their midst. In spite of his pitiable condition he was recognized as a former centurion. He showed proofs of battles bravely fought, scars on his breast (*cicatrices adverso pectore*). Needless to say, the contrast between the man's merit and his plight did not alleviate the wrath of the people¹.

When the Senate was reluctant to grant a triumph to Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Perseus, a former consul and 'Master of the Horse', Marcus Servilius, spoke to the people in his behalf. In his address he boasted that he had won spoils in each of twenty-three combats to which he had been challenged by the enemy, and that all his scars were honorable, having been suffered on the front of his body².

Doubtless lawyers made the most of good military records of clients. The orator Marcus Antonius tore the tunic from Manius Aquilius and showed to the people and the jurors the scars of wounds he had received in front³.

Valiant and magnanimous men admire a display of courage even in an enemy. After the Battle of Issus it did not escape the notice of the Macedonians that the noblest Persians, who fell about the chariot of Darius, all lay face downward and that all had died from wounds in front (*adverso corpore vulneribus acceptis*)⁴. On seeing that the Romans slain at the Battle of Heraclea had been killed by wounds in front, Pyrrhus exclaimed, 'With such soldiers I should have been able to conquer the world'⁵. The brave deaths of the followers of Catiline elicited the praise of Sallust⁶: *Pauci autem, quos medios cohors praetoria disiecerat, paulo divorsius, sed omnes tamen adversis vulneribus considerant*.

It would seem that Roman soldiers almost classed scars of wounds received in battle among citations for bravery. Even after he had become consul, Marius seemed to be as proud of his scars (*cicatrices adverso corpore*) as he was of his military rewards of valor⁷.

Among the glorious distinctions of Marcus Manlius

¹Livy 2.23.3-4. Another case of a battle-scarred soldier is described by Valerius Maximus 7.7.1... *adverso corpore exceptas ostendebat cicatrices*. Compare Terence, *Eunuchus* 482-483 *neque pugnas narrat neque cicatrices suas ostentat*.

²Livy 45.39.16. Compare Plutarch, *Aemilius Paulus* 31.5.

³Cicero, *In Verrem, Actio Secunda* 5.1.3; Quintilian 2.15.7. Compare the following references in Cicero: *De Oratore* 2.124, 195; *Pro C. Rabirio Perduellionis Reo* 36; *De Haruspicio* Responso 49.

⁴Curtius 3.11.9.

⁵*Incerti Auctoris Liber de Viris Illustribus* 35.4.

⁶Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 61.

⁷Sallust, *De Bello Jugurthino* 85.29. Another example of *adversae cicatrices* is to be found in Sallust, *Historiae* 1, Fragment 88, as numbered by B. Mauernbrecher, *C. Sallustii Crispi Historiarum Reliquiae* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1891).

Capitolinus were twenty-three wounds on the front of his body (*xxiii cicatrices adverso corpore*).⁸

The passages which I have cited praise the brave soldier who faced the weapons of the enemy, but by these passages the disgrace of wounds in the back is implied. There are two passages, however, which show more clearly that the ancient Romans had the feeling which prompted their descendants to execute criminals by shooting them in the back. One is in Pliny the Elder⁹:

L. Siccus Dentatus, qui tribunus plebei fuit Sp. Tarpeio A. Aternio cos. haud multo post exactos reges, vel numerosissima suffragia habet centiens vicinis proeliatus, octiens ex provocatione victor, quadraginta quinque cicatricibus adverso corpore insignis, *nulla in tergo*.

Of the same man Aulus Gellius says¹⁰:

Is pugnasse in hostem dicitur centum et viginti proeliis, *cicatricem aversam nullam*, adversas quinque et quadraginta tulisse.

From these examples it is clear that shooting criminals in the back was not an illogical procedure for descendants of a martial race whose members could admire even an enemy who faced their weapons unflinchingly. No Roman respected a brave foe more than did Caesar, and our own estimate of Caesar is enhanced a little because of his glowing tribute to the Helvetii¹¹:

Nam hoc toto proelio, cum ab hora septima ad vespertum pugnatum sit, aversum hostem videre nemo potuit.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY

MEASURING SICILY BY THE DAY'S SAIL

In antiquity distances by sea were commonly measured by the day's sail, just as distances by land were computed by the day's journey. This method is so picturesque when it is applied to the circumnavigation of Sicily that it seems worth while to bring together two passages on the subject.

When the Athenians were preparing their great expedition against Sicily, their ideas in regard to its size were quite vague. Their most definite information, according to Thucydides¹, was that it took a merchantman not much less than eight days to sail around the island. In striking contrast to this is the time which Plutarch² gives for its circumnavigation—four days. The casual manner in which this information is introduced by Plutarch warrants one in concluding that four days is the period which a traveler might reasonably expect to spend on such a journey under average conditions.

The merchantman known to Thucydides was a comparatively slow vessel. In addition, the captains of his day were doubtless handicapped by unfamiliarity with winds and weather about the island as well as by unfamiliarity with the coast. In spite of these and other considerations the great difference in time may well indicate that the ancients were learning how to construct speedier boats.

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EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY

THE EVACUATION OF MEXICO CITY AND ALBA LONGA

In reading Prescott's History of the Conquest of Mexico nearly twenty-five years ago I was struck by certain similarities in his account of the enforced withdrawal of the inhabitants of Mexico City by order of Cortez and in Livy's description of the removal of the

population of Alba Longa by the Romans. I am reproducing in parallel columns a quotation from Prescott¹ and a few phrases and sentences from Livy, with certain changes in the original order. The numbers in the quotations from Livy indicate sections.

PRESCOTT, CONQUEST OF MEXICO

...He [= Cortez] gave his orders, accordingly, for the evacuation of the place, commanding that no one, Spaniard or confederate, should offer violence to the Aztecs or in any way obstruct their departure. The whole number of these is variously estimated at from thirty to seventy thousand, beside women and children, who had survived the sword, pestilence, and famine. It is certain they were three days in defiling along the several causeways,—a mournful train; husbands and wives, parents and children, the sick and the wounded, leaning on one another for support, as they feebly tottered along, squalid, and but half covered with rags, that disclosed at every step hideous gashes, some recently received, others festering from long neglect, and carrying with them an atmosphere of contagion. Their wasted forms and famine-stricken faces told the whole history of the siege; and, as the straggling files gained the opposite shore, they were observed to pause from time to time, as if to take one more look at the spot so lately crowned by the imperial city, once their pleasant home, and endeared to them by many a glorious recollection.

⁸⁷103. ⁸⁷101.

¹⁰²11.3. Gellius gives the name as L. Sicinius Dentatus.

¹¹De Bello Gallico 1.26.2.

LIVY 1.29

(1) Inter haec iam praemissi Albam erant equites qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde ductae ad diruendam urbem. (4) Ut vero iam equitum clamor exire iubentium instabat....

(5)...iam continens agmen migrantium impleverat vias.

(3)...sed silentium triste ac tacita maestitia ita defixit animos ut prae metu obliti² quid relinquerent, quid secum ferrent, deficiente consilio rogitantesque alii alios.... <The rest of this sentence is given below>.

...nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas, ultimum illud visuri, pervagarentur. (4)...raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis, cum larem ac penates tectaque in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset relinquentes exirent.... (6) unaque hora quadringentorum annorum opus quibus Alba steterat excidio ac ruinis dedit....

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EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY

¹⁶1.1. ²Moralia 693 A.

¹J. F. Kirk's edition, 3.195-196 (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1873).

²Some editors bracket this word. C. K.

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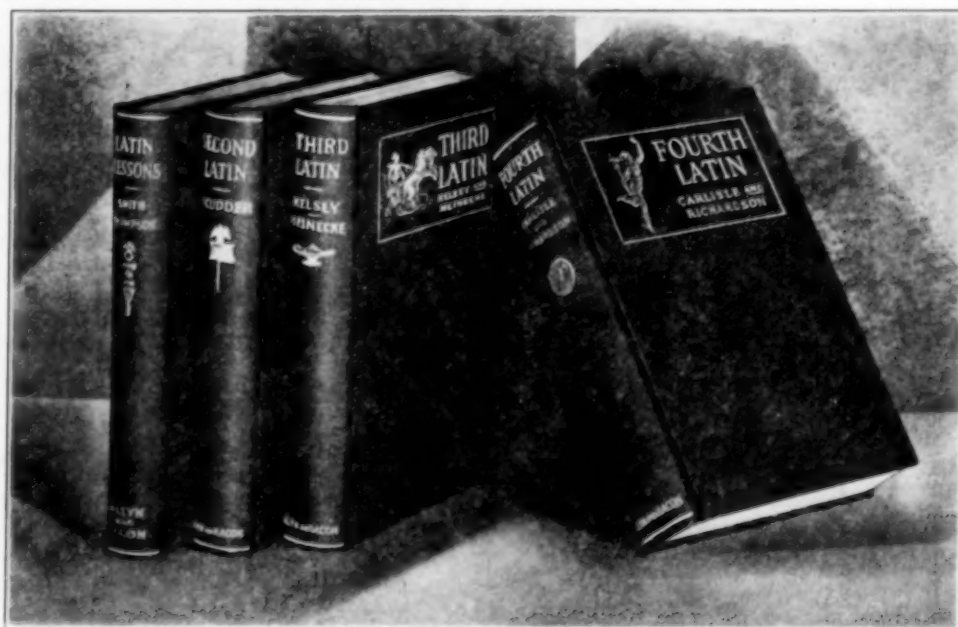
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